

Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 ARA-06 EA-07 NEA-10
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00
CAB-02 COME-00 DOTE-00 EB-08 FAA-00 OMB-01 /115 W
-----280107Z 020501 /73

P R 280007Z APR 77
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3334
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMCONSUL CAPETOWN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 1268

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, RH, US
SUBJECT: SECURITY COUNCIL: RHODESIAN SANCTIONS COMMITTEE

REF: USUN 1240

1. SUMMARY. AS WE LAUNCH THE 1977 SERIES OF USUALLY WEEKLY MEETINGS OF THE SOUTHERN RHODESIA SANCTIONS COMMITTEE (SRSC), IT WOULD SEEM USEFUL TO REEXAMINE US POSITIONS IN THE LIGHT OF OUR OVERALL AFRICAN FOREIGN POLICY POSTURE AND IN THE LIGHT OF CHANGED AND CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES. END SUMMARY.

2. SINCE THE SRSC CAME INTO BEING IN 1968, THE US HAS GENERALLY FOLLOWED THE UK LEAD IN DEVELOPING OUR SOUTHERN RHODESIAN
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POLICIES POSTULATED IN THE SRSC AND ITS PARENT BODY, THE SECURITY COUNCIL (SC). IT MAY BE RECALLED THAT ON 17 MARCH 1970, THE US (WITH THE UK AND FRANCE) CAST ITS FIRST VETO ON A SC RESOLUTION ON SOUTHERN RHODESIA WHICH WOULD HAVE EXTENDED SANCTIONS TO THE FULL EXTENT OF ARTICLE.41. FROM THE INCEPTION OF RESOLUTION 253 (WHICH SET UP THE SRSC), THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN A MILITANT FORCE AND A PRINCIPAL CHAMPION

OF AFRICAN ISSUES ON SOUTHERN RHODESIA IN BOTH THE SC AND THE SRSC, ALMOST ALWAYS HARD-LINE ON THE UK AND THE WEST, OFTEN ARROGANT AND WASTEFUL IN THE USE OF SC AND SRSC TIME, AND NEVER AT A LOSS OF WORDS IN POSTULATING ANTI-WESTERN PROPAGANDA. WERE IT NOT THAT THE SRSC WORKS ON THE BASIS OF CONSENSUS, THE MEETINGS CLOSED, AND USING ONLY SUMMARY RECORDS, THE SRSC WOULD PROBABLY HAVE GENERATED THE SAME QUALITY AND QUANTITY OF PROPAGANDA DOCUMENTATION AS HAS THE COMMITTEE OF 24. BY WORKING BASICALLY WITH THE UK AND FRANCE AND SOME OF THE OTHER WESTERN MEMBERS AS THEY ROTATE THROUGH THE SC MEMBERSHIP, WE HAVE BEEN ABLE GENERALLY TO FOCUS THE COMMITTEE'S ATTENTION AND WORK ON THE NEARLY 300 CASES OF ALLEGED BREACHES OF SANCTIONS THAT HAVE BEEN PRESENTED TO THE SRSC BY THE UK. AT THIS TIME WE HAVE APPROXIMATELY 150 CASES PENDING ACTION BY THE SRSC, MANY OF WHICH ARE APPARENTLY SERIOUS BREACHES OF SANCTIONS BY CERTAIN WESTERN DEVELOPED AND A FEW AFRICAN COUNTRIES. SOUTH AFRICA, OF COURSE, TOTALLY IGNORES RESOLUTION 253.

3. WITH THE ENACTMENT OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT IN 1972, THE US BECAME, AT LEAST IN THE EYES OF THE UN MEMBERSHIP, A FLAGRANT VIOLATOR OF SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTHERN RHODESIA AND, BEGINNING ABOUT THAT TIME, WE ELECTED TO MAINTAIN A RELATIVELY LOW PROFILE IN THE SRSC. THIS DOES NOT SAY THAT THE US OFTEN DID NOT HELP BRIDGE THE WIDE GAPS BETWEEN THE SOVIETS AND MORE MILITANT AFRICAN MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE, AND THE MORE REALISTIC, AND SOMETIMES VERY CONSERVATIVE, UK APPROACH. WITH THE BYRD AMENDMENT BEHIND US, WE ARE NOW IN A MUCH MORE FREE AND FLEXIBLE POSITION TO USE THE SRSC IN FURTHERING AND CONFIDENTIAL

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DEVELOPING OUR OWN NATIONAL INTERESTS. WHILE WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE SRSC IS STILL BASICALLY A UK RESPONSIBILITY (AND THEY MAKE A CONSIDERABLE INPUT INTO THE PRACTICAL WORK OF THE SRSC), THE SRSC, AS A CHILD OF THE SC, CAN AND SHOULD REFLECT OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS IN THE RAPIDLY CHANGING SCENE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

4. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT IN THE LAST YEAR IN PARTICULAR THE UK HAS DEVELOPED SOLID INFORMATION ON SEVERAL CASES OF SANCTIONS VIOLATIONS BY THE SOVIET BLOC. THEIR REACTION IN THE SRSC TO THESE ALLEGATIONS (AND IN AT LEAST ONE CASE LEGAL PROOF) HAS BEEN IF NOT SOMEWHAT PARANOID AT LEAST VOCAL, PROTECTIVE, HURT, AND SOMETIMES EVEN THREATENING. THEIR DISCOMFORT AND PROTESTATIONS OF INNOCENCE HAVE GENERALLY BEEN ENJOYED BY THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE SRSC. WITH THIS BACKGROUND IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE GONE ON THE ATTACK AND CAN BE EXPECTED TO WORK WITH THEIR NORMAL TENACITY AND POLEMICAL HABITS TO TRY AND HEAD OFF ANY CRITICISM OF THEIR CLIENTS IN THE REPORTS OF THE SRSC.

THE PROPOSAL FORMALLY SUBMITTED IN REFTEL IS PROBABLY ONLY THEIR OPENING SALVO WHICH WILL BE FOLLOWED UP WITH GUSTO -- AND TO THE DETRIMENT OF MUCH USEFUL WORK IN THE COMMITTEE ENDNEW AND OUTSTANDING CASES OF ALLEGED BREACHES OF SANCTIONS.

5. WE HAVE REVIEWED THE SOVIET PROPOSALS WITH OUR UK COLLEAGUE RELLIE AND REPORT BELOW HIS INITIAL, BUT AS YET ONLY PERSONAL, REACTIONS. HE IS URGENTLY SEEKING FCO COMMENTS.

(A) ON THE ARTICLE 41 PROVISIONS INCLUDING AIRCRAFT LANDING RIGHTS, THE FIVE WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE SC ARE, AT THE MOMENT, IN AGREEMENT AND WOULD VOTE AGAINST SUCH PROVISIONS IN THE SC. BOTH THE FRENCH AND THE BRITISH HAVE GREAT DIFFICULTY WITH THE LANDING RIGHTS PROVISION, AS BOTH BRITISH AIRWAYS AND AIR FRANCE CONSIDER THEIR SOUTH AFRICAN CONFIDENTIAL

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ROUTES AS AMONG THEIR MOST PROFITABLE. RELLIE IS ENCOURAGED THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE LUMPED LANDING RIGHTS WITH THE OTHER PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE 41 AND HOPE THE WEST WILL ARGUE AGAINST THIS PACKAGE AS A WHOLE. THEREFORE, A SPECIAL REPORT TO THE SC ON EXPANSION OF SANCTIONS TO THE FULL EXTENT OF ARTICLE 41 WOULD BE NOT ONLY TIME-CONSUMING BUT JUDGED TO BE A WASTE OF COMMITTEE EFFORT.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 1268

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

(B) CONCERNING THE PROVISION CONTAINED IN PARAGRAPH 2 OF THE SOVIET PROPOSAL, THE UK MISSION IS PUTTING TOGETHER AN AIDE MEMOIRE FOR A WESTERN GROUP MEETING OF THE SRSC ON APRIL 28. THE UK MISSION WILL ASK THE OTHER WESTERN MEMBERS TO ASSIST THE UK IN DEFLECTING ALL OF THESE PROPOSALS USING THE BASIC ARGUMENT THAT SUCH ACTION IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SC AND NOT THE SRSC.

(C) THE PREPARATION OF "FACT-SHEETS" WOULD BE NOTHING MORE THAN A REHASH OF THE MATERIAL ALREADY CONTAINED IN PUBLISHED SRSC REPORTS. HOWEVER, THE US, BECAUSE OF CHROME IMPORTATIONS, AND SOUTH AFRICA WOULD END UP AS THE PRINCIPAL OVERT VIOLATORS.

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(D) THE LIST OF COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE RECEIVED 20 OR MORE NOTES IS AN OLD SOVIET SUGGESTION AND HAS NO VIABLE MEANING. SUCH A LIST WOULD SIMPLY "PROVE" THAT THE WESTERN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES ARE THE MOST FREQUENT ALLEGED VIOLATORS.

(E) OPEN MEETINGS WOULD TURN THE SRSC INTO A PROPAGANDA EXERCISE AND THE BRITISH WOULD PROBABLY BE RELUCTANT TO CONTINUE TO PROVIDE INFORMATION ON ALLEGED BREACHES OF SANCTIONS.

6. FROM THE USUN POINT OF VIEW, WE ARE INCLINED TO CONTINUE TO WORK CLOSELY WITH THE UK AND THE OTHER THREE WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE SRSC. OUR COHESION AND COOPERATION AT THIS TIME IS GOOD. WE SET FORTH THE FOLLOWING SUGGESTED GUIDELINES FOR OUR NEAR-TERM POSTURE IN THE SRSC.

(A) TRY AND CONCENTRATE THE COMMITTEE'S WORK PROGRAM ON NEW AND OUTSTANDING CASES.

(B) TRY AND PREVENT THE COMMITTEE FROM BECOMING TOTALLY CONCERNED WITH A FURTHER EXPANSION OF SANCTIONS, AT LEAST UNTIL WE SEE THE SPECIAL REPORT ON RHODESIAN INFORMATION OFFICES SAFELY THROUGH THE SC, AND WE CAN FURTHER DEVELOP OUR OWN POSITIONS ON SOUTH AFRICA.

(C) WITHOUT GETTING UP FRONT BUT WITH SINCERITY, TRY
TO GUIDE THE SRSC AWAY FROM ALL THE SOVIET PROPOSALS.

(D) PREVENT THE SRSC FROM ATTEMPTING TO REWRITE ITS
CHARTER THEREBY UNNECESSARILY PROVIDING THE SECURITY
COUNCIL WITH A PEGOOD EXCUSE TO OPEN DEBATE PREMATURELY
ON SOUTHERN RHODESIA ISSUES WHICH WE ARE NOT YET
READY TO DEAL WITH.

7. WE SHOULD ALSO CONTINUE TO EXAMINE AREAS WITH THE
UK AND THEN THE FRENCH WHERE A FURTHER EXPANSION OF
SANCTIONS COULD BE EFFECTIVE AND ACCEPTABLE.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, COMMITTEE MEETINGS, SANCTIONS
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Disposition Approved on Date:
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Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
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Disposition History: n/a
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Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
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From: USUN NEW YORK
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
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Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t1977047/aaaaafnv.tel
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Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 USUN NEW YORK 1240
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09-Feb-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2843255
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SECURITY COUNCIL: RHODESIAN SANCTIONS COMMITTEE
TAGS: PFOR, RH, US, UNSC
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/d7bc2fa7-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009